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He seriously considered the presidency of Antioch College in Ohio, to the "consternation" of his friends, in the words of the narrator. On the other hand, we may say, Forbes worked earnestly for it, believing it would open the way to the chief office of the nation, which Forbes thought was Andrew's due. It is perhaps useless to use the speculative "if"; but one nevertheless is tempted to say, that if Andrew could have prolonged his life in changed scenes, escaping the labor by which he earned \$30,000 per annum at the bar, and better escaping bores and beats whose persistence drove him to the grave, and if he could have lived in Ohio until 1876, he would have been President instead of Hayes.

Errors creep into careful work, as in the appearance of "B. F. Thomas, a well-known Democrat" (II, 43). The documentary citations are not felicitous, especially in the second volume. Page after page of Andrew's voluminous and hortatory matter do not forward a narrative. Such rhetoric should be digested by the masters, who can render "philosophy teaching by examples". The book is encumbered with too much historical detail. The subtitle justifies a history of the times of the Civil War; but other matters like the Know-nothing episode and the early history of antislavery in Massachusetts receive detailed treatment. Such tendency affects the author's narrative in many places. These are trifling defects, however, and on the whole the book justifies itself through its moving interest and its delightful story.

WM. B. WEEDEN.

The Freedmen's Bureau : A Chapter in the History of Reconstruction.

By PAUL SKEELS PEIRCE, PH.D. [The State University of Iowa Studies in Sociology, Economics, Politics, and History. Vol. III, No. I.] (Iowa City: State University of Iowa. 1904. Pp. vii, 200.)

MR. PEIRCE'S monograph is a useful and scholarly contribution to the history of one of the many phases of Southern Reconstruction — a field of historical study which he very properly says has not received adequate attention from investigators. His work shows both industry and discrimination in the use of the voluminous documentary materials from which most of his information has been drawn. He has attempted to write a concise account of the origin, growth, organization, and activity of the Freedmen's Bureau and the part which it played in the southern states during the confusion and wreck following the sudden emancipation of the slave population. Of all the agencies and instrumentalities of the Reconstructionists there was none in the opinion of the Southern whites that did so little good as the Freedmen's Bureau. Its expenditures were enormous, its ramifications extended to the remotest communities, it directed an army of officials, and the powers which it exercised for the relief and protection of the freedmen were almost unlimited. The Southern whites complained that by supplying lazy freedmen with gener-

ous rations the Bureau encouraged idleness at a time when the farms were lying waste for lack of labor, while, through the political activity of its agents, race hatred was stirred up to the injury of both blacks and whites. But, as Mr. Peirce shows, wherever the Bureau was judiciously administered by honest and tactful agents it not only brought needed relief to many unfortunate blacks who were left adrift in the chaos of the time, but did a real service to the white planters by using its vast influence with the ignorant freedmen to induce them to enter into labor contracts and perform their agreements faithfully. His discussion of both the merits and shortcomings of the Bureau is eminently fair and judicial. He has endeavored to present the truth and has for the most part left his own opinions in the background.

As a natural preface to his study, the author reviews the conditions which gave rise to the necessity for government intervention in behalf of the freedmen, which began with the exodus from the plantations to the military camps as soon as the Federal armies appeared in the south. The antecedents of the Bureau are described under the following heads: (1) the system of relief provided by the military commanders for the new "contrabands"; (2) the treasury agencies created in 1861 to collect abandoned lands and colonize the freedmen thereon; and (3) the activity of religious and benevolent associations. Mr. Peirce then reviews the long contest in Congress to create a bureau of emancipation, beginning in 1863 and ending in 1865 with the creation of the Freedmen's Bureau, but without appropriation for its support and with its existence limited to one year. With a large income, however, from the lease of abandoned lands and the sale of confiscated property the Bureau justified its creation, and a bill was easily passed in 1866, in spite of the executive veto, to continue its existence. The bill was renewed from time to time until 1872, when the Bureau was finally abolished. Its various activities, educational, relief, financial, political, etc., are the subject of an interesting chapter. The Steedman-Fullerton investigation of the conduct of the Bureau and the charges against General Howard are carefully examined in the light of all the evidence. With regard to the charges against General Howard, the author concludes (p. 112) that "many of them were recklessly and extravagantly made and that some were without the slightest foundation", although he finds that the general "certainly was not a strict constructionist" when it came to interpreting his official powers (p. 128).

If a word of criticism may be passed upon Mr. Peirce's work, it should be said that he has not treated intimately the activity of the Freedmen's Bureau in its efforts to afford judicial protection to the blacks through special tribunals of its own, and the resulting conflicts with the civil authorities. This was a source of endless friction and sometimes of bloody riots. Had the author not relied too closely on the Congressional documents for his information, he might have been able to throw much more light on this important phase of the subject.

JAMES WILFORD GARNER.